

## Message Text

PAGE 01 BRUSSE 05970 182252Z

17 11  
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W  
----- 016179

R 181712Z OCT 73  
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8938  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS 5970  
EXDIS  
FOR: VINE, EURWE FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OCON, PFOR  
SUBJECT: EUROPEAN CHIEFS OF MISSION MEETING

REF: STATE 199737

THE FOLLOWING ARE MY REMARKS FOR THE EUROPEAN CHIEFS OF MISSION  
MEETING AS PER II. U.S. POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN EUROPE (REFTEL),  
AS I WOULD HAVE MADE THEM HAD THE CONFERENCE NOT BEEN CANCELLED.

BILATERAL AND MULTI-LATERAL DIPLOMACY  
AND THE SMALL POWERS

TALLEYRAND IS ADI TO HAVE SAID THAT THE LONGER HE THOUGHT  
ABOUT INTERVENTION AND NON-INTERVENTION, THE LESS HE COULD SEE THE  
DIFFERENCE. THE LONGER I HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT MULTI-LATERAL AND  
BILATERAL DIPLOMACY, THE LESS I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SEE THE  
DIFFERENCE.

WESTERN EUROPE IS ON THE WAY TOWARDS UNIFICATION, ECONOMIC AS  
WELL AS POLITICAL. THIS IS WHAT THE PARIS COMMUNIQUE OF THE  
NINE SAYS. IT IS ON THE WAY; IT HAS NOT GOTTEN THERE YET. INDEED,  
THE EC IS A CLUB OF SOVEREIGN NATIONS THAT HAVE YIELDED SOME OF  
THEIR SOVEREIGNTY TO THE EC. THEY HAVE NOT YIELDED ALL OF IT, AND,  
EVERY SO OFTEN THEY BEHAVE AS IF THEY WERE VERY, VERY SOVEREIGN.  
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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 05970 182252Z

THIS IS TRUE ESPECIALLY OF THE MAJOR EUROPEAN POWERS WHO ARE  
MEMBERS OF THE EC. THE VIRUS OF SOVEREIGNTY IS A HARDY ONE:  
CONTROLLED IN ONE PLACE, IT ACTS UP IN ANOTHER.

IN SEPTEMBER, THE NINE AGREED UPON A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IN RESPONSE TO DR. KISSINGER'S INVITATION. THE MANNER BY WHICH THEY GOT TO THIS FIRST CAST OF A EUROPEAN COMMON POLICY, BINDING UPON ALL OF THEM, HAS BEEN NOT ENTIRELY PLEASING TO US, FOR WE FELT THAT THE NINE HAD FAILED TO CONSULT US ON THEIR LABORS AND TO DISPLAY THAT OPENNESS WE HAD EXPECTED AS OUR DUE FROM OLD FRIENDS. MY BELGIAN FRIENDS HAVE NOT BEEN INSENSITIVE TO OUR FEELINGS. BUT, THEY, TOO ASSERT THAT THE COPENHAGEN EXERCISE IS SIMPLY A MANIFESTATION OF THAT EUROPEAN WILL TO UNITY THAT WE OURSELVES ACCLAIM AS IN THE BEST INTEREST OF EUROPE AND OUR BEST INTEREST AS WELL. AND AS FAR AS CONSULTATION IS CONCERNED, HAS NOT BELGIUM PRESSED SOME TIME AGO, FOR A "METHODICAL" DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE EC? AS REGARDS BILATERAL CONSULTATION WITH THE U.S, BELGIUM HAS ALWAYS KEPT OPEN THE DOOR FOR IT, PERHAPS WIDER THAN SOME OF HERE PARTNERS MAY HAVE WISHED.

BELGIUM PROVIDES A NEAT CASE FOR TESTING MY HYPOTHESIS ABOUT THE INTERFACE OF MULTI-LATERALISM AND BILATERALISM.

I BELIEVE THAT THE TRUE REASON FOR BELGIUM'S COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN UNITY HAS NOT BEEN THE EXPECTATION OF ECONOMIC GAINS FLOWING FROM THE EC'S TARIFF UNION, GAINS THAT AS I VENTURE TO ASSERT HERETICALLY, ARE STILL CONJECTURAL. THE TRUE REASON HAS BEEN THAT BELGIUM HAS FOUND IN THE EC A WARRANTY OF PROTECTION AGAINST ANOTHER EUROPEAN WAR THAT, LIKE ALL EUROPEAN WARS OF HISTORY, WOULD BE FOUGHT OUT UPON BELGIAN BATTLEFIELDS AND SUBJECT BELGIUM TO FOREIGN DOMINATION. SPECIFICALLY, BELGIUM NEED NO LONGER FEAR A FRANCO-GERMAN WAR. NOW, THIS IS BELGIUM'S NET ADVANTAGE DERIVED FROM EC MEMBERSHIP, TRANSCENDING THE INCONVENIENCE OF HAVING HAD TO SURRENDER SOME OF HERE PRECARIOUS SOVEREIGNTY. BUT, THERE IS IN POLITICS NO NET ADVANTAGE THAT IS NOT PAIRED WITH SOME NET DISADVANTAGE. THE NET DISADVANTAGE FOR BELGIUM OF EUROPEAN UNITY IS THE THREAT OF GREAT POWER HEGEMONY OF ONE OF THE PREPONDERANT EUROPEAN POWERS OR A GANGING-UP OF ALL THREE AGAINST THE REST. IT IS THIS THREAT THAT COMPELS BELGIUM TO SEEK BILATERAL RE-INSURANCE, TO WIT, LINKS WITH A GREAT POWER OUTSIDE OF THE EC. THUS FAR, THERE IS ONLY ONE  
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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 05970 182252Z

PLAUSIBLE CANDIDATE FOR THE ROLE OF BALANCER, TO WIT, THE UNITED STATES.

IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF BELGIUM WERE THE ONE AND ONLY SMALL POWER IN EUROPE THAT HARBORS THESE CONCERNS. INDEED, ALL THE REST DO. MOREOVER, SMALL POWERS ALL OVER THE WORLD HAVE PERCEIVED THE LATITUDE AFFORDED SMALL AND MILITARILY WEAK COUNTRIES BY THE PREVAILING BALANCE-OF-POWER. CERTAINLY BELGIUM CANNOT HELP PERCEIVING IT. WHATEVER MIGHT BE THE RISKS OF HER DIPLOMACY THE RISK OF HAVING TO MEET FRENCH OR GERMAN DEMANDS, BACKED UP BY TROOP CONCENTRATION ALONG HERE BORDER, IS NO LONGER AMONG THEM. THIS LATITUDE OF THE SMALL POWERS AND NOVEL REAFFIRMATION OF SOVEREIGNTY--A SOVEREIGNTY BASKING IN ITS IMPOTENCE--OFFER US

IN EUROPE OPPORTUNITIES. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE HAVE MUCH TO GAIN AND NOTHING TO LOOSE BY CULTIVATING THE SMALL POWERS-- BENELUX, OUR SCANDANAVIAN ALLIES AND ITALY. INDEED THEIR ASSIDUOUS CULTIVATION WILL PROVIDE US, IN THE AGGREGATE, WITH POWERFUL LEVERAGE ON THE FORMER GREAT POWERS WHO, SHELTERED BY THE EC, CAN PRETEND TO IGNORE OUR INTERESTS. THE SMALL POWERS NOW HAVE THE POWER TO RESTRAIN THEM--WITHOUT HAVING TO FEAR THEIR TRADITIONAL MANNER OF RETALIATION.

BECAUSE OF THE PREVALENCE OF THE VETO, DE FACTO OR DE JURE, IN WESTERN ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, SMALL COUNTRIES PLAY A ROLE DISPROPORTIONATE TO THEIR MILITARY OR ECONOMIC STRENGTH. THEIR ECONOMIC OUTLOOK OFTEN PARALLELS THAT OF THE U.S. MORE CLOSELY THAN THAT OF THEIR LARGER EUROPEAN PARTNERS, AND ON POLITICAL AND MILITARY ISSUES THEY OFTEN ARE BROKERS AND DRAFTERS IN FORMULATING AND REACHING AGREEMENTS.

THUS, IT IS THE SMALL POWERS WHO OFFER US A FAVORABLE TERRAIN FOR BILATERAL DIPLOMACY TACTFULLY RESPECTING THEIR EUROPEAN COMMITMENTS AND SENSITIVELY AWARE OF THEIR STAKE IN EXTRA-EUROPEAN ASSOCIATIONS, ESPECIALLY THEIR ATLANTIC TIES.

STRAUSZ-HUPE

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR. SARROS.

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